PEACE NEWS

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War Without End

IN the House of Commons on April 3 Mr. Duff Cooper replied to a request of Mr. R. R. Stokes for a statement of peace aims. As he warmed to his subject he became remarkably candid. "What right have we," he asked, to make promises to the people engaged in our present battle and to say that as a result of the present war we shall be in a position to make their lives easier, happier, and more prosperous than before?" That is at least indifferent honest. But it suggests that honesty might well be carried a little further; and instead of merely refusing to promise men that their lives shall be easier, happier, and more prosperous than before, they should be definitely warned that their lives will be harder, unhappier, and less prosperous.

Why not, indeed? Mr. Duff Cooper, of course, knows the reason why. And he gave it in the immediately following passage of his speech. Mr. Stokes wanted the Government to say something about post-war conditions at home.

> But if you were to say that, you would certainly be obliged to hold out hopes and not to depress people with gloomy forebodings. We can say in a general way, that there will be greater opportunities for all and a more equal distribution of wealth. These are the kind of vague promises which can be made, but I am not sure that they are much good to anyone.

In other words: if you told the truth, you would depress people with gloomy forebodings. The only kind of promises you can honestly make are promises which don't mean anything. Hence the necessity of not saying anything at all. So much for the home-front. Mr. Duff Cooper then turned to the international front. What could the poor Government say about Europe after the war?

> Who is he (Lord Halifax), or who are His Majesty's Government, alone to say in what form the nations shall come together? If that combination is to be a success, it can only be if each one of the nations who forms it is allowed to have something to say as to its constitution. Therefore, it would be folly, and worse than folly, for one Power to seek to lay down the terms of such a federation in the middle of a war.

We do not doubt that Mr. Duff Cooper was perfectly sincere in putting forward this curious argument; but it is hard to understand how he was convinced by it. What on earth prevents the British Government from laying down certain fundamental principles which must be established if there is to be any durable European federation? What prevents it from saying: "We believe that a peaceful organization of Europe is possible only if certain conditions are satisfied, and certain sacrifices are made. Britain is prepared to satisfy those conditions and make those sacrifices, and to enter into economic and political association with other nations which will accept them." Mr. Duff Cooper confuses two absolutely different things: proposing a basis for European settlement and enforcing it. To invite collaboration is totally different from trying to enforce it. To confuse the two is unpardonable.

But in both cases—on the home front and on the international front—the argument of the Government is the same. In Mr. Duff Cooper's words, which echo Mr. Churchill's, "any definite proposal"—in regard to the national and the international society —"would provoke a great deal more disunity than union among our friends." We dare not think of the future either in Britain or in Europe lest we should jeopardize the unity of the anti-Hitler front. That is the only unity we have. It is terribly and pathetically true: but we think that never before at a crisis of British history has there been such a confession of spiritual poverty—so complete a surrender to the mere negation of war without pupose and without end

H. P. FOWLER, discusses the myth of "English-Speaking Unity" in the light of

ECONOMIC FACTS

THE danger of dealing in futures in the markets of world politics is to confuse the need with the achievement. In wartime that danger is multiplied a hundredfold, and as the wish is often father to the thought, hopes become enshrined in a Golden Age which always is (and always was) just round the corner.

Some such obsession seems to be stealing over men's minds regarding the formation of a war-welded bloc of the English speaking peoples. These peoples, it appears, have the unique quality of being "peace-loving" and on that abstraction our political mentors are busy building an edifice which has the great advantage of appearing to lead away from the passions and entanglements of troublesome Europe.

By far the most important influences in these hopes are the substantial facts of Dominion co-operation in the Allied war-effort and the increasing assistance forthcoming from America. United States policy is rightly taken to be broadly indicated by the passing of the Lend-and-Lease Bill which, by the way, is based upon America's conception of her own vital interests, plus a general sympathy for the things which the average Englishman hopes will come out of a victorious war. In the large and genial sense in which the word is used, America joins in the fight for "democracy."

Beyond that, the American electorate does not seem to have formulated, let alone accepted, any clear-cut policy for the future, in much the same way as we ourselves have not defined our war-aims in any but the most vague and comfortable terms. It is argued that these are great matters which cannot be rough-hewn from the raw material of public opinion but must be fashioned by the gradual development of the national conscience. But that argument takes no cognizance of the demoralizing effects of modern war—nor of shades of Bottomley, etc.

VITAL INTERESTS

Because the great mass of public sentiment on the other side of the Atlantic is in line with the broad mass of public sentiment and action here, the US Administration is able to call upon American industry to provide victuals for the rapacious monster of war.

The first thing for Englishmen to bear in mind, therefore, is that this trans-Atlantic substitute for the now defunct Entente Cordiale is based upon a common conception of vital interests. As such it belongs primarily to the Hitler era and, from the American point of view, it is first and foremost a move in the defence of the Americas. If it is also an expression of sympathy for our plight, it is not necesarily an understanding of the political ineptitude which has brought us to this pass, still less is it an undertaking to help reconstruct Europe's shambles when the immediate threat to Britain (and America) is passed.

Nevertheless, the future relations of the English-speaking countries depend upon the conditions existing following the cessation of hostilities. The problem then will be that of making the change-over from industry geared for war to industry geared for peace: in other words, in finding within a very short space of time a non-military solution of unemployment. The crisis will once again reach its intensity in war-weary Europe, although the same demand will be stirring in the Americas and the fast industrialising English speaking Dominions.

With the new and expanding factories of these Pacific nations released from the demands of war, they must endeavour to absorb their energies by the production of the modern equivalent of plowshares instead of swords. That position is generally understood by readers of **Peace News**, so that there is no need to labour the point. Suffice to say that these "plowshares" will take the form of boots and shoes previously bought (though with growing reluctance) from the factories of Northamptonshire, and woollen, cotton, and rayon textiles hitherto obtained from the ample mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

In itself the development is a natural one—although disastrous from the point of view of accepted British economy. But the incidence and violence of the development is speeded-up beyond all imaginings by the demands of war and its ever-present threat to sea-communications. Even before 1939, the Ottawa agreements had ceased to be acceptable to the developing Dominions, and when the speed and extent of their present war-inspired industrialization is understood, it will be realized how hopeless it is to look to these markets to absorb anything like the quantity of British manufactures purchased up to 1940. In the meantime, with British industry and British shipping otherwise engaged, American exporters can devote their abundant energies to the needs of the Pacific and Eastern nations.

CO-ORDINATION

It may be argued that the world is passing from the era of free-competition to that of co-ordination and that in the post-war world the exports of both Britain and America will be subject to regulation and control. In all probability, that is a flight of optimism; but even so, co-ordination as far as Britain is concerned can only mean a desperate effort to regain some of the markets which she has lost and is now losing and by which she lives.

To the American exporter and the American taxpayer the issue will appear in a somewhat different light: it will appeal as a deliberate attempt on the part of Britain to filch some of his daily bread. Not even the go-getting genius of American sales managers can stem the fast rising tide of industrialism in the nations of the Pacific and the East, but in the interval, a bird in the hand is worth a good many in the bush.

Perhaps it will not be beyond men of goodwill to arrive at agreement as to sharing markets after the war, but in any such bargaining Britain must play the part of the merchant whose children have grown up and gone into business on their own account and, despite their affection for the "old man," find it preferable to forsake the family supplier for the rival departmental store.

ONLY BASIS OF UNITY

For better or for worse, this—and not the vague imaginings of sanguine politicians—is the only basis upon which Anglo-American unity and an English-speaking bloc can be built. If this nation can make huge sacrifices for peace, as it now makes them for war, the ideal is attainable.

More specifically, it depends upon our power to carry through the immense national reorganization which the large-scale loss of export markets makes necessary: and that demand will be the more tremendous in that the electorate has not been kept informed of the historical need. Indeed, it would be nearer the truth to say that the nation has been kept misinformed. Under such conditions it takes a good deal of faith to believe that a war-strained nation will accept so dusty a recompense.

EFFECT OF WAR

One thing is obvious. The longer it takes Europe to compose its differences, the greater the drive toward self-sufficiency in the Americas, in the Pacific nations, and in the East. And the longer the war lasts the more permanent these organic developments tend to become.

Admittedly it will not require a very long war to enable Britain to sell out of her overseas investments upon which her ability to export at competitive prices partly rests, but the effect of industrialization elsewhere upon British national economy must be in direct relation to the length and ever-increasing demands of the war.

Mr. Churchill now speaks of "getting through 1942" by which it is assumable that the "complete victory" which the Government envisages is not likely before 1943 at the earliest. By that time the barriers standing in the way of Anglo-American co-operation on anything like a 50-50 basis (let alone English-speaking unity) may well be quite unscalable.

Most people agree that such order as humanity is capable of achieving cannot exist without the co-operation of the English-speaking nations. It is time that they examined more realistically the basis upon which such co-operation must rest.

"FIGHTERS FOR PEACE"

THE contributions to the Fighting Fund for the week amounted to £33 1s. 10d., making the total £1,787 10s. 4d. It includes a donation from a merchant-service gunner who, though he suffered long spells of pre-war unemployment, "feels that even this condition was better than the brutal idiocy of war and would like to make some contribution to the fighters for peace."

And do not forget to send us that little parcel of trinkets, old gold, and silver for our Treasure Hunt. We have to reach that second thousand by May 23. Thank you.

The Editor

Please make all cheques, POs and money orders payable to Peace News Ltd and crossed "a/c Payee", and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Commentary

The Present War Situation

Edited by "Observer"

PROBABLY some faint recognition that the war-situation is very serious indeed is beginning to penetrate the public mind: but the process is terribly slow. Perhaps it is natural that neither the Government nor the press should help it along: for how could the Government itself accept the responsibility of creating "alarm and despondency"? Yet it is surely the responsibility of the Government to labour manfully to correct the fantastic ignorance and lack of proportion in the public mind. On the other hand, the Government itself has done most to encourage it. And any conscientious effort to educate the public into the truth of the situation would recoil on its own head.

But honestly it does seem incredible that Mr. Arthur Greenwood should dare to tell a cooperative conference that our prospects of victory were never brighter than they are today. The Germans have opened a mighty attack on the heart of the British Empire. Their plan is conceived with a boldness which is staggering to the imagination; and the initial stages of their campaign have been accomplished with alarming rapidity

(Continued on page 2.)

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY . . . . . CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Mediterranean "Riddle"

WE are told that when Parliament meets again MPs are anxious to have some misunderstandings cleared up. In particular they want an answer to the question: How did the Germans get their mechanized divisions to Libya? The insinuation has been spread abroad that this was accomplished by the connivance or active help of the French. Even the reputable **Manchester Guardian** (April 17) says: "There is perhaps no direct evidence of the help given by the French to their mechanized concentrations in Tripoli, but the suspicions about it are very strong. It is expected that the Navy is not losing sight of either Tripoli or the territorial waters of Tunisia."

The phrasing of that sentence—"perhaps"; "the help"—is indicative of a degenerating standard of truth; but far more important is the implication that the Germans could have made use of French territorial waters unchallenged by the British. Readers will not have forgotten the "Altmark" affair or our mining of Norwegian territorial waters. The fact is that if French territorial waters had been used for the purpose of transporting German mechanized divisions, the British Navy would not have hesitated to interfere. The **Sunday Times** (April 20) lets in the daylight of a little candour into this murky atmosphere of propaganda and insinuation.

> It is erroneous to suppose that the Germans, by making use of French territorial waters off Tunis, would be safe from attack by British sea or air forces: for the British Government recognizes no right of sanctuary for enemy troops in such territorial waters.

Or, we may add, enemy war-material, as the Norwegian precedent showed. The fact is that the Navy did not interfere because it was otherwise engaged.

British Propaganda

BRITISH propaganda has lately taken a notable plunge. A statement issued from 10 Downing Street, threatening to bomb Rome if Athens or Cairo is bombed, contained this:

> It has come to the knowledge of H.M. Government that an Italian squadron is being held ready in Rome to drop captured British bombs upon the Vatican City should a British raid take place. It is, therefore, necessary to expose this characteristic trick beforehand.

The effect (if not the purpose) of that statement is that, if the Vatican City is damaged during a British raid on Rome, we shall be able to say that the Italians did it themselves. But the statement is rather difficult to believe: and assuredly it is a statement of such a kind that needs to be supported by convincing evidence. How did it come to the knowledge of H.M. Government? Have we convinced the Vatican authorities who are, after all, the most deeply concerned in the matter, that it is true?

Yugoslavia

IT is time we were a little critical of the cliche that Yugoslavia "has found its soul". I have yet to see any trustworthy evidence that the sudden change of government and of policy was in any true sense of the word "popular". It looks as though it was yet another version of the too familiar story: that a reluctant peasantry was forced into battle once again. The sequel seems to show that it had no heart in the business. I do not pretend that the signal defeat of Yugoslavia is, in itself, a proof that the leaders who sought and concluded an agreement with Germany were acting in the best interests of their country: but it certainly does not conflict with that belief.

Anyhow, I have always held that it was preposterous for an uninformed public opinion in Britain to brand the former leaders as "traitors". My conviction in that matter was based on a long talk I had—seven or eight years ago—with Prince Paul. The impression he made upon me then was that of an able and responsible ruler very much more aware of the true nature of the political and economic problems of Europe than any British politician I have met or listened to.

The "Little Man"

NOT many perhaps will have noticed the statement of the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade in the Commons on April 10 on the position of the small shopkeeper. I quote it from **Hansard**.

> We, and the shopkeepers themselves, know that as time goes on there will be a marked decrease in turnover, and a time must arise—and we might as well face it—when it will be necessary for some small shopkeepers to charge excessive prices as the result of their reduced turnover or they will not get a livelihood out of their little shops. What is such a shopkeeper to do? Is he to go on until the time comes when he can buy less and less stores in replacement each week and has to live on his capital?
>
> He will use his discretion to a large extent, but it seems to me that there is a great deal to be said for the suggestion that many small shopkeepers who see this time approaching should realize their present stocks, invest the money in Government securities, and find other jobs for the time being so that when the war is over they may go back to their shops with a certain amount of capital to re-equip them and to enable them to start again.

In other words, the Government advice to the small shopkeeper is "extinguish yourself." As the **New Statesman** (April 19) says: "It is patent that the Government does not dare to deal with powerful interests in this way." It is a lurid warning of the danger that our negative, unplanned totalitarianism may be the worst kind of totalitarianism of all—totalitarianism without any effort toward social justice.

"Political Obsession"

THE present Cabinet, says the **New Statesman**, "is much too intent on the more dramatic aspects of the war. The sordid economics are relegated to the background." Mr. Stokes, I think, put it more forcibly and more truly when he accused the Prime Minister some months ago of "playing at soldiers". And a careful reading of Mr. Guillebaud's dispassionate little book **The Social Policy of Nazi Germany** (Cambridge University Press: 3s. 6d.) has deepened in me a feeling of foreboding. Germany, by a tremendous effort of self-sacrifice, put her own house in order before embarking on this war. I don't like her way of doing it; by which I mean, not the economic measures themselves—they seem to me far in advance of anything we have achieved—but the political means used to get the power to enforce them. But I am certain that no candid reader of that book will deny that the social and economic justice of Nazi Germany is superior to our own. Whatever Hitler's crimes, he did not let down the small man as we are going to do.

We are the victims of what I can only call the "political obsession". We believe that if only the forms of political democracy are kept, substantial justice will be done. It will not be done. Nor is it less of an illusion to believe that if the forms of political democracy are kept injustice will be remedied. The injustices now being done will prove to be irremediable.

"Horizon"

MY neighbour got in the train at Cambridge. I borrowed her **Times**. When I had finished it, she offered me **Horizon**. So I read the second copy of that magazine that has come my way since it began. I am naturally something of a connoisseur in commentary; and the tone of **Horizon's** commentary surprised me. It was very despondent. But its opening sentences were revealing.

> As the war goes on, intolerance increases. It is important for those who accept the war to realize that everything which pacifists predict about war may be happening to us. Huxley went away to America—because he was convinced that England would become fascist in its struggle with fascism.

Horizon makes a strange impression of futility and spiritual emptiness. It would like to be pacifist, and cannot be—naturally enough, for pacifism is a faith. Your true pacifist does not dream of escaping to America. His duty is here—to kindle and keep alive the spark of human living, to create cells of a new social organization. He looks beyond the horizon.

P.P.U. A. G. M.

THE consensus of opinion was that the new procedure at the PPU Annual General Meeting was a success. My friend the Editor, I observed, mixed his metaphors: he said he was hauled over the carpet by both legs. I should have said he was put on the carpet, hauled over the coals, and—very nearly—bumped off.

The principal addresses were all good; but I would award particular praise to two of the rapporteurs of previous discussions: Harold Bing on "Freedom" and Rosalind Bevan on "Peace Aims and the New Order"—both admirable performances of a singularly difficult task. I was delighted to see, and to hear, Andrew Stewart, whose brief contribution on "PPU Policy" seemed to go nearer to the root of that problem in three minutes than the rest of the discussion did in thirty, though Roy Walker's very brilliant but rather forensic speech earned much applause.

My overwhelming impression was that the movement (like society as a whole) is in a phase of transition: undecided whether it is a "democratic" organization or something new.

Night Bombing

THE consensus of opinion was that the new Government to take the initiative in a proposal for the mutual abandonment of night-bombing, which was, on Vera Brittain's motion, heartily endorsed by the AGM of the PPU, has had a bad press. Any decent, humane, and Christian proposal always does have a bad press. The tide of moral and material degradation sweeps on irresistibly.

But Mr. Beverley Baxter in the **Sunday Graphic** (April 20) seems to be the high spot of inanity when he writes: "I have never doubted that Hitler would give anything to reach an agreement with Britain to stop night-bombing." The bland suggestion that the advantages of night-bombing are entirely on our side is remarkable: the assumption, I presume, being that the Germans who are cowards and bullies "squeal" when they are bombed at night, whereas the British do not.

Holton Beckering Farm

I AM pleased to say that the response to the appeal in **Peace News** has enabled the Holton Beckering farm to be purchased outright. The urgent need is now for additional capital for the purpose of fully stocking and equipping it. £1,500 has already been expended for this purpose; and a further £2,000 is required immediately. When that is found the training-scheme will be fully launched and will thenceforward be self-supporting.

Donations, interest-free loans, or loans bearing interest not exceeding 3½ per cent., are earnestly requested. All loans are repayable after two years, on giving six months' notice. Please send to the Secretaries, Holton Beckering Farm Centre, The Oaks, Langham, near Colchester. The matter is particularly urgent because it may be impossible, very shortly, owing to increasing restrictions, to obtain an adequate dairy herd—which is essential to the proper running of the farm.

Compulsion

FOLLOWING Wilfred Wellock's article last week, I believe it would be useful to put on record here the statement of the PPU Forethought Committee on compulsion which was endorsed by the Executive Committee.

As distinct from fire-watching, industrial conscription is a symptom of a type of social organization which in our judgment is likely to endure after the war and to become established in the Western world. Decision to conform or to resist the new regulations must therefore be taken in the light of an estimate of the whole developing situation and an understanding that it is a mistake to identify pacifism with a resistance to State-compulsion of every kind. Obviously, where a pacifist is ordered to do certain forms of work, he would feel bound by his conviction to refuse. But it must always be as much a matter of conscience to the pacifist to discover how he can fulfil his responsibilities to society as to decide how he should resist war.

Old Lamps for New — 3

concluding the article by

G. M. Ll. Davies

I CONFESS that I have slowly learned, from the disillusionment of events and expectations, to turn more and more to the Bible, and less and less to the press, for "the truth whereby the nations live". I begin at last to understand not only such expressions as "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path," but that "The spirit of a man is the candle of the Lord," and that we should no more hide that light in some little Bethel than under a bushel.

I confess too, after some familiarity with modern criticism, that it is not what I can't understand in the Bible that worries me, but what I can understand. Dr. Jacks has said that the inveterate mistake of States and Churches lies in the belief that other men need law to prevent their going wrong, where actually they need light to show them the right way. There was a time when one used to sing with the crowd in mass Liberal meetings,

> There's a good time coming boys
> When the pen shall rule the sword.

and when one thought of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth as Garden Villages for all, with "eight hours work and eight hours play and eight bob a day". Now, I am not so sure. Then, I could say "All the world's a stage on which we play our part". Now, I am coming to realize that life is a school in which we "learn through suffering".

I find the world-theory of the eighth chapter of Deuteronomy a grim but true and finally gracious basis for optimism. "Remember the forty years the Lord hath led thee through the wilderness to prove thee and humble thee and find what was in thine heart whether thou wouldst do his commandments or not . . . to do thee good at thy latter end." One who had been long in this school confessed that it was neither action for the sake of action, nor the service and sacrifice that men demand, that fulfilled the command of the Eternal, but "to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with God".

I have lately been fortified in my return to school by Professor Arnold Toynbee's Burge lecture on the meaning of history. He points out that it was not Rosenberg or even Hitler that were the first to proclaim the subordination of the individual to the State and the citizen to the community. Greek and Roman society, as applauded by Gibbon and even the gentle Sir James Frazer, accepted that subordination as did most of our later socialists.

On that view religion is subsidiary to the growth of secular civilizations. The inverse of that view is that the rise and falls of civilizations may be subsidiary to the growth of religion and to the law of life, proclaimed by Aeschylus that "It is though suffering that learning comes".

Actually, it was in captivity at Babylon, with all political rights and ecclesiastical rites lost, that Isaiah saw the enduring kingdom, power, and glory of life as belonging to the "Suffering Servant." The stuff of civilization—garden villages, votes, villas, and the rest of it—may be the child's plasticine in this grim school of learning. It opens up a rather startling view of history—that the very downfall of civilizations may be a teaching by the penalty of consequences and stepping stones of revelation and insight into the meaning of life.

Communism and democracy may be pages from the Book of Life, but they are emptied of meaning if their religious practice is divorced from religious belief, like the fruits of an up-rooted tree. Civilization, indeed, may be the means to which religion is the end. "Society is, after all, only the common ground between the fields of action of a number of personalities, and has an innate capacity for evil as well as for good . . . unless and until human nature itself undergoes a moral mutation". Even a reunited Christian Church must have the capacity to develop Caesarism in the future as it did in the past, and as Protestantism did later.

> Religious progress must take place in the spiritual lives of personalities. Personalities are inconceivable except as agents of spiritual activity; and the only conceivable scope for spiritual activity lies in relations between spirit and spirit. . . . The spiritual progress of individual souls in this life will in fact bring with it much more social progress than could be attained in any other way . . . unless progress is taken as being the social progress of Leviathan and not the spiritual progress of individual souls. (Christianity and Civilization.)

☆

I HAVE met pacifists who would hoot such a judgment as loudly as any Fascist or National Socialist, but the long view of the historian is more sober than the short view of the politician. The organized impatience of autocracy and the organized indifference of democracy to the personal life and its values remind one of the revised commandment.

> Thou shalt not kill, but needst not strive
> Assiduously to keep alive.

With our eyes fixed on the totality of society, it is difficult to see the locality and its intimate life and need, and one's responsibility for knowing and loving one's neighbour. I know no more succinct statement of the alternative to mass-politics than that stated by the Prophet Zechariah when his country was under the Persian occupation.

> "Not through an host and not through power, but through my spirit," saith the Eternal . . . but who hath despised the day of small beginnings. . . . Thus saith the Eternal, Judge ye fair judgment, show mercy and compassion every man to his brother man, and oppress not the widow, nor the orphan, the poor man, nor the foreigner, and think not evil against one another in your hearts.

The prophecy was naturally rejected by a populace who imputed all their evils to the Persian yoke, as men today attribute all evils to the capitalist system. But denunciation was not enough; it led inevitably to war with the foreigner and to civil strife with neighbours.

> In those days there was neither price for beast nor wage for man, nor peace for him who went out or came in, because of the oppression; for every man was set against his neighbour.

The role and the realism of the Suffering Servant which the Jews rejected and which Christ accepted is still a "scandal to the Jew and foolishness to the Gentile" when he thinks of practical politics. It may still remain for men to find that it is the way of the power and wisdom of God to achieve peace upon earth through good will between men—but it must begin with the locality and not with the totality of men as organized by the State, or even by the County Council.

Fourth Annual General Meeting

THE Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, Dr. Alex Wood, undoubtedly expressed the general feeling of the 1,000 delegates and members present that its fourth Annual General Meeting, held in the Royal Hotel, Southampton Row, London, last weekend, was better than any that had previously been held. There was "a liveliness, an initiative, and a youthfulness about the movement that is very refreshing to us all."

This was felt to be an indication of the success of the new method of conducting the conference. After the various reports (which had been circulated in advance) had been discussed and approved in the first session, the remaining sessions were devoted to discussion of three main subjects, with an attempt to arrive at a concensus of opinion on them.

After approving a proposal that support (not financial) be given to all pacifist candidates for Parliament at the discretion of the National Council, the conference passed an emergency resolution, moved by Vera Brittain and seconded by Laurence Housman, supporting the suggestion of the Bishop of Chichester, in a letter in The Times on April 17, that the Government should propose the cessation of night bombing if the German Government would give the same undertaking.

INTRODUCING the subject of The Meaning of Freedom and How to Defend it, Alex Miller began by pointing out that order and freedom were always in conflict in any society. The obligations to each of them carried with them the right of society to enforce them. The basic obligation on each side was to take the claims of the other side seriously.

If we were to deal with Nazism as a bestial tyranny, as it was, we must do so in terms of those two necessities—order with freedom. We had passed the day when a plain anti-war policy was important. Tyranny was to be condemned because it was a denial of order, and the basic necessity of order was the integrity of free men.

"We must prepare people for defeat, because the nation that is not prepared for defeat is not fit for victory." The nation must be prepared to carry on the struggle against tyranny even after military defeat, without arms. The only thing worse than a totalitarianism with concentration camps was a totalitarianism without them—without opposition.

Definitions of freedom given in the subsequent discussion included Sydney Todd's "the openness to receive and publish truth wherever we see it"—a freedom which could not be taken from us—and James Joyce's quotation of T. H. Green's "the ability of individuals to make the best of themselves", while Reginald Reynolds pointed out that "everyone understands freedom in degree and relatively". The latter asked what pacifists were going to do when they found themselves not up against a single law but against the whole structure of society.

Leonard Read said that pacifists ought to be trying, in the words of Eric Gill, to create "cells of good living in the chaos of modern society", while Sidney Corbett pleaded for political as well as spiritual freedom as their aim. James Norbury declared that history was working out a tragic destiny because people had ignored their social responsibility, and another speaker said that 'if we live for all, we have perfect freedom". Herbert Whatley claimed that there was no such thing as spiritual freedom except in terms of some material expression.

Winding up the discussion, Max Plowman asked what was "the ability to make the best of ourselves". Personal ambition was not enough. We ought to be able to make the beginnings of a new order through the PPU. "Our freedom is a social freedom; it is no longer a personal freedom".

The general feeling was well summed up by Harold Bing as follows:

> Freedom is the ability of the individual consciously to order and direct his own thought and life so that he may achieve personal integrity and contribute in the greatest possible measure to the well-being of society. . External circumstances may help or hinder this process, but the right ordering of external circumstances depends in the last resort upon the conscious efforts of individuals who have conceived the full import of freedom and have at any rate begun to achieve it in themselves. In this latter process, while economic and political factors may help, economic and political systems will not give you freedom. You must find the truth, "and the truth shall make you free".

* *

MARY GAMBLE, introducing the subject of Peace-Aims and the New Order, imagined that a pacifist was charged with the office of Prime Minister, and assumed that he would not run away from the task.

His aim would be to stop the war as soon as possible; but that would be possible only if he were prepared to suggest the basis of a new European order. A real economic community in which the aim was pursued of raising the standard of life throughout Europe and the obsolete limitations of national sovereignty overridden in so far as they conflicted with this aim; an internationalization of armed forces, rather than immediate abolition of them, would enable the universal abandonment of military conscription.

Her address was a salutary dose of realism, on the theme that practicable peace-aims are essential to the purpose of stopping the war.

Harold Bing said that while urging that negotiation for peace should be entered upon at the earliest possible moment, we should work to undermine the causes of war—as a peace aim. Herbert Whatley also suggested that there would be some hope of peace if we got rid of the economic system that had produced the war, but maintained that "the first peace aim is to stop the war". Richard Bishop declared that the only basis of a new order was personal responsibility.

Closing the discussion, Wilfred Wellock said we had come to a stage when large-scale economic units were inevitable. In this country we were in the midst of a revolutionary situation, and the economic stress that would follow the military stress of war would make a return to democracy impossible.

Our great problem, then, was: was our peace aim to be a fight against conscription, or were we to look beyond conscription to the sort of society we wanted to create? There they came to the idea that was expressed in the word "community", which must not be narrowly interpreted, but must be understood as a new kind of social relationship. We could not by any political means change the state of Europe, only by creating here and now the nucleus of a new society.

Summing up, Rosalind Bevan said it was no good saving the first peace aim was to stop the war unless they realized that one of the best ways to stop the war was to be in a position to put peace aims before people. They had got to think out the matter and must unite with others for that purpose. The public needed and asked for education on the subject, but they must first educate themselves. As an aid to study of the question, she recommended the National Peace Council's Peace Aims pamphlets, but pointed out that there was also a good deal of other literature. They must do their best, too, to penetrate political and other bodies that were concerned about peace aims.

(Continued on back page.)

THE NEW NATIONAL COUNCIL

ELECTIONS for the National Council for 1941-2 resulted in the following being elected:—

John Barclay,
Dr. A. D. Belden,
Richard Bishop,
Vera Brittain,
Nancy Browne,
George Davies,
Frank Dawtry,
Dorothy Evans,
Mary Gamble,
Laurence Housman,
Humphrey S. Moore,
Stuart Morris,
Sybil Morrison,
J. Middleton Murry,
Max Plowman,
Dr. Alfred Salter,
David Spreckley,
Andrew Stewart,
Roy Walker,
Wilfred Wellock.

The Chairman (Dr. Alex Wood) and Treasurer (Maurice L. Rowntree) were re-elected.

Behind the Conference

By JOHN BARCLAY

THE limelight seldom reaches into the wings, and there is a danger that those on whom it does fall are not always the most deserving. Without the devoted work of our office staff we on the platform would have cut a sorry figure.

Every telephone call dealt with and passed on by Miss Ager means that wheels run smoothly and organization is possible; the stencils and listing necessary for the conference arrangements and all the letters to those seeking and offering hospitality were dealt with by our secretaries: Joan Hood and Daphne Kick were an ever-present help in time of trouble. When the meeting-place of AGM had to be changed at the last minute direction notices were fashioned by Ken Sheppard of the Literature Department. This work was turned out at short notice on top of all his other duties.

Stewards at meetings are always taken for granted. They have an endless job and are expected to be for ever on the spot. "Our gang" were grand! Donald Port undertook the task of finding and holding them, and, with Muriel Boldero and the others backing him up, all was well. Armed with weapons of tact and cheerfulness, there were no "scenes" and no unauthorized person was present.

There are always those who think we are paid too much. They may be right, but they would not be able to enjoy their annual bull-baiting were it not for the work of the accountant. Frank Middleton and his staff deserve our thanks. Those of us who work with them know their worth.

The 1941 conference was a success; some say the best we have ever had. That it was so is not due to any one person but to all who, by their work and spirit of fellowship, made it possible. To those who led our deliberations, our gratitude; but it is to those who listen and work silently behind the scenes that we look for the delivery of the goods.

The number of groups represented was 214. Collections over the two days, after all gratuities had been paid to the hotel authorities, amounted to £51 18s. 8d.

The Literature Stall sold £37 1s. 2½d. worth of literature.

GROUP NOTES

On March 29 the Belfast groups held their Annual General Meeting at the Dick Sheppard Centre. The premises were crowded to hear Professor Davey in the afternoon and Professor Tom Finnegan in the evening. Many gaps had been made in the list of active members, partly by change of work and partly by marriage and consequent change of address. Denis Barrit still holds the position of Secretary and General Convenor. On him falls the difficult and responsible task of leading the groups through the dark days ahead.

We at Headquarters would like to pass on to him and through him to all the Irish members the good wishes of Scottish, Welsh, and English groups who have just been meeting in London at our Annual General Meeting. It was a great loss to us that Professor Finnegan, the Irish representative on the Council, was unable to come, as we had hoped. Ireland may yet become the centre from which peace moves are made, and in our Irish groups we have the nucleus of a community of peace-makers.

Ashford.—At Ashford's last Group Meeting the reform of the Church and the churches after the war was under discussion. Arthur R. Gilbert, who led the discussion, gave much food for thought and discussion. He made a strong plea for the disestablishment of the Church, and for a revival of a real and practical religion, fostered within small groups or "cells" of laymen working together with a common interest.

Women's Section

A WOMAN'S VIEW ON CONSCRIPTION

By Constance Braithwaite

THERE has been so much nonsense talked in the past by those urging, on the one side, that a woman's psychology is quite different from a man's and, on the other side, that there's no difference at all that it may be rash for me to say anything about "a woman's point of view." However, I think there are some differences of emphasis which are important.

*

(1) Most women have a particular concern for the rearing, preserving, and enriching of individual life. This applies not only to wives and mothers but also to daughters, sisters, aunts (whether real or by courtesy), teachers, nurses, and many others. It is therefore particularly outrageous to compel women to participate in the prosecution of war, that is, in the wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter and impoverishment of individual life. Industrial conscription involves not only this but also the encouragement (if not the compulsion) of many women to neglect their own children. Are there to be no homes for the duration?

(2) Most women have less physical strength than most men. In a world in which violence is allowed to be the ultimate determining factor there is no hope of an equal status for women. It is no acident that the Nazi philosophy combines belief in violence and belief in an inferior status for women. It is tragic that one of the results of political equality in this country is the demand that women should participate equally in the most stupid of men's conventions—war. Violence is not women's method: they have often suffered from its use and rarely profited. They have found it unsatisfactory in marriage, in the rearing and education of children, and in the other problems in which they are most interested.

(3) Convention has in the past recognized that women should not be required to fight. This convention has been partly due to concern for the preservation of the race. But it has been due also to the fact that (rightly or wrongly) men have expected a higher moral standard in some respects from women than they have expected from themselves. While the existence of a double standard may be indefensible it should be remedied by a levelling up, not by a levelling down.

*

My argument is that, while we women pacifists are fighting conscription as equal comrades with men pacifists yet we have an even stronger case than theirs against it. My 'personal' view is that refusal to register and, if automatically registered, subsequent refusal to attend an interview are the strongest forms of protest available to us. But it is clear that many equally sincere pacifists will disagree with me on this and that we must fully respect and appreciate different lines of action in the application of our pacifism to a very complicated situation. The important thing is that, whatever method we employ, we shall state as emphatically as possible that our services are not at the disposal of the Government for the prosecution of the war, because war violates everything we value most as women as well as as pacifists.

PACIFIST CANDIDATE

WE understand that the writ for the by-election for the Kings Norton division of Birmingham was expected to be issued by the time this appears.

As our readers will probably know already, Stuart Morris has been adopted as pacifist candidate by a combination of pacifist groups in the division. He stands as an independent pacifist "for whom pacifism is the logical outcome of the Christian faith and an essential expression of the Christian Gospel." and he pleads for "an immediate armistice to be followed by a genuine conference of all the nations."

Contributions toward the expense of the campaign are needed and should be sent to Constance Braithwaite, 35 Middleton Hall Road, Kings Norton.

The Fourth A.G.M.

Continued from page 3

But she challenged the conference to consider what they were going to do about the fact that these were not the ideas of H.M. Government. "How are we going to continue the class struggle by non-violent resistance—not non-resistance?" She pointed out that there was a large body of people who saw that war was wrong and futile but did not see any alternative, and declared that they were longing for a lead on this question of peace aims.

* * *

NOT unnaturally, perhaps, **The General Policy of the PPU** produced much the greatest divergence of opinion, so that Charles Baldwin had an impossible task in trying to sense the feeling of the meeting as a whole, beyond pointing out that it was perfectly clear that pacifism was conceived of as a struggle, and not as peacefulness necessarily.

The discussion was opened by Roy Walker, who, in a loudly applauded speech, maintained that the union's policy in the past year had been a series of "strategic withdrawals" in the face of the demands of a country at war, and that there was now a feeling in the conference that any battle would be better than "another twelve months of retreat".

"In place of action we have been given moral uplift. My suggestion for a policy is the exact opposite of all that." First let them recognize that they were not different from anyone else. They might think, too, about the immediate situation, and say something practical about it. Let them say that a negotiated peace should be attempted, because no progress was possible until the mass murder was stopped. Much of that had been said by the PPU, but in "a stage whisper". Let it be said louder and oftener. Their policy should be one of word and deed.

The discussion then ranged from the suggestion that the basis of membership of the PPU should not be "the negative pledge" but "a positive, creative policy", perhaps incorporating the Affirmations, to a simple endorsement and defence of the National Council's decisions in the past year. Perhaps the most outstanding contributions, however, were Andrew Stewart's forthright assertion that the Union could not have a policy in the way that, for example, Transport House could, but only "an aggregation of witness" to the way of fellowship instead of the way of war; and more than one plea for a much closer study of, and more definite preparation for, the practice of the non-violent technique.

Middleton Murry made no attempt to summarize or draw conclusions from so widely ranging a debate; but tried to define the pre-conditions of a fruitful debate on policy in the PPU.

To reach a common mind the members must be freed from intellectual egotism, and prepared to make their minds "a thoroughfare for all thoughts, not a select party." Since the object of the Union was to help to create a new order of society in which war should be impossible, it must itself be the nucleus and example of such a society. It must be itself a genuine community.

He commended the word of Oliver Cromwell to a recalcitrant and faction-rent Parliament: "Tender the whole'—the whole of the Union, the whole of British society, the whole of the agonizing world today.

NORTHAMPTON GROUP
Monthly Breakfast, Sunday, May 4, 8.30 **John Middleton Murry**
and at 2.30
Peace News Conference for Region
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May Day, 1941

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Circulation Notes

IN BRIEF

WITH space at a greater premium than ever, I give you literally only "notes" about circulation this week:

Last week's printing order, 19,200 copies (300 for use as specimens), which means we still progress, but not so fast as I expected . . . . . mustn't grumble, though; recent orders and conversations at AGM reveal that important provincial centres have just completed plans for campaign activity.

Street-sellers' reports still encouraging . . . in notoriously "Blimpish" South Coast resort eighteen copies sold (a local record) after bombing the previous night; Ilford sellers disposed of 48 in 2½ to three hours; in Central London, Donald Port found nine purchasers in twenty minutes (and still wants volunteers); three sellers from Ambleside encountered a certain liveliness in Kendal recently, yet fifteen sales in 1½ hours encouraged them to consider possibility of regular selling.

Tip for distributors: One delegate at AGM told me of unsold copies left in fish-shop, where customers always take them away—**not** as wrapping-paper!

J. W. C.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A GOOD little book on Fascism has long been needed. More nonsense has been talked on that subject than perhaps on any other in the last half-dozen years by political progressives of all sorts. Mr. F. A. Ridley's "Fascism: What is it?" (Freedom Press: 6d.) fills the gap admirably.

He defines Fascism as essentially a movement of the masses in a capitalist democracy suffering from a frustrated imperialism which succeeds in substituting state-capitalism for private capitalism. The definition powerfully suggests (what I believe to be true) that after this war a successful Fascist movement in this country is highly probable. It indicates also (what I believe to be equally true) that Fascism cannot come into being while the war is actually being waged: it is too revolutionary for that to happen.

The one criticism I have to make of Mr. Ridley's analysis is that he is not sufficiently explicit as to the nature of the social revolution which he believes to be the sole escape from totalitarian state-capitalism, to use one of his alternative definitions of Fascism. It is important to be explicit on this: for almost as much nonsense is talked about social revolution as Fascism itself.

J. M. M

* * *

Men and States is the title of a new pamphlet by Francis E. Pollard (Friends Peace Committee, 3d.), in which he examines the clash between the individual and the State. He shows that the individual is the source and goal of all human advance (apart from him all collectivities are mere abstractions), that progress, morality, and religion cannot thrive without freedom, and that war kills the spirit of liberty. He contrasts true power—based on service—with the aggressive power-politics of the modern State and he points out that no lasting peace is possible until principle is made the sole basis of State policy. A very thoughtful and inspiring pamphlet.

CAN THE DICTATORS HOLD EUROPE ?
A Historical Survey
BY
Stephen Hobhouse
JUST PUBLISHED
Price 2d. *(postage 1d)*
by
THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION,
Dick Sheppard House,
Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Readers of **Peace News** should not miss the April number of **War Commentary (3d. post free)** which includes a brilliant article by Ethel Mannin on **Women, War and Conscription**, as well as an analysis of the National Service Bill entitled **"Putting the C.O. on the Spot."**

We also recommend our latest publication, **FASCISM—What is it?** by **F. A. Ridley (8d. post free)**, which is a scientific study of what the author calls the "most original and potent form taken by Counter-Revolution of our epoch." **Fascism—What is it?** should be read by all progressive students of politics.

And last, but not least, those readers who were interested in the articles on Anarchism which appeared recently in **Peace News** should have **"The Philosophy of Anarchism"** by **Herbert Read**, a few copies of which are still available, **2s. 9d. (post free).**

FREEDOM PRESS (P. 3),
9 Newbury St., London, E.C.1.

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NEAR Little Chalfont, Amersham, Bucks. Pacifist artist requires bed-sitting-room with board; out during day and away week-ends. Box 747, **Peace News**, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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SHINING CLIFF Camp School, Alderwasley, Derbyshire, in 120 acres of woodland; opened April 21; progressive methods; fees, 35s per week. Mr. and Mrs. L. Vear, B.Sc (Hons.) Lon.

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LAND & COMMUNITY

ACCOMMODATION available in small community for young man; vegetarian diet; Highgate district. Box 753, **Peace News**, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

ANGLICANS and unchurched pacifists. Send stamp details of Old Catholic Franciscan community; land, crafts, and trading; daily Mass; Reservation; Ordination possible; also guest house; Essex-Herts border. Fr. Augustyn, 36 Harcourt Terrace, London, S.W.10.

LAND & COMMUNITY (Contd.)

BEES urgently required as tribunal alternative to conscription; £4 per strong colony paid; nuclei bought. Box 752, **Peace News**, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 18, seeks employment with market gardener or farmer in Newton, Torquay district; intelligent and willing. Box 751, **Peace News**, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

GARDEN work, nursery or market gardening, wanted by pacifist; some experience; community, smallholding considered. Box 750, **Peace News**, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM F.o.R. holds monthly meeting for fellowship, Carrs Lane, last Tuesday: 6, coffee; 6.30, meeting.

PADDINGTON and North Kensington Group now meet regularly on Tuesdays at 7 p.m. at 79 Southern Row, Ladbroke Grove, W.10. Phone Lad. 2733

SATURDAY, April 26, 6.30 p.m. Open air, Catherine St., Croydon. Bill Grindlay, Ronald Smith.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST, 23, unconditional exemption, requires change surroundings; 6 months' general farm experience; tackle anything. Box 748, **Peace News**, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., exempt, gardener, experienced goats, chickens, requires work, preferably Surrey; married. Freeman, Buckshorn Lane, Eye, Suffolk.

WIDOW, 52, pacifist, vegetarian, desperately in need of kindly home and small wage, in return for light house duties or care of afflicted; country. Harcourt, 67 Mayford Rd., London, S.W.12.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS: Food Reform; Vegetarian Guest House; alt. 600ft; for happy holiday or restful recuperation; central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock.

MISCELLANEOUS

CARRIER Cycles for tradesmen; carriage paid, all complete, thus ready to use, £7 13s. Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

PACIFIST wishes contact with friends interested in and knowledge of amateur radio (S.E. London). Box 749, **Peace News**, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MAY DAY, 1941.

John McGovern, M.P. **Fenner Brockway**
Walter Padley **Florence Stamp**
will speak at a
LONDON I.L.P. MASS RALLY
at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1, on Thursday, May 1st, at 7 p.m.
CHAIR: TREVOR WILLIAMS

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Latest time for Displayed Advertisements FIRST POST Monday

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COMMUNITY

To be published about the middle of each month as a Supplement to "Peace News"

No. 2 April 25, 1941.

PEACE and the SOIL

by **DION BYNGHAM**

PEACE among men and nations is fundamentally related to peace with the soil. The implied opposite —war with the soil is expressive of all those plundering and predatory processes by which man has exploited and exhausted the soil, especially during the past fifty years.

Forced, artificial stimulation with chemicals, large-scale mechanised monoculture (or one-crop "farming"), short-sighted destruction of sheltering woods and moisture-conserving trees, wasteful and improvident handling of organic manures—these and many other factors make up the tale of man's abuse, neglect, and maltreatment of the soil, that source of his life which itself is a living thing.

So, thinking and acting in terms of the "conquest of nature" instead of loving care and co-operation with nature, man has sown and reaped disease in his food-crops, farm animals, and himself. And, by the same processes, he has made much of the earth a desert.

Owing to rapacious and get-rich-quick methods of agriculture, aggravated by irresponsible speculation and an economic chaos leading to world-wide accumulations of financial debt, marketing, money-making, and money-costs, rather than sound, healthy food-produce and biological costs, have been the main concern of farmers.

Among the consequences, sheet-erosion on an appalling scale has devastated millions of acres of arable land in many parts of the earth, rendering them permanently unfit for further cultivation. Many more vast areas have been more or less seriously affected. This is the ominous meaning of the dust storms that have swept over wide tracts of America during recent decades, leaving ruin and desolation in their wake. In Africa, Australia, Russia, and elsewhere the menace of soil erosion has been similarly spreading. Belated measures to arrest its encroachment have been adopted, scarcely in time.

SIGNIFICANT FACTS

Some idea of the magnitude of the problem may be gathered from the fact that in the Missouri basin an average of seven inches of top soil has been lost in twenty-four years. Against this should be set the estimate by Professor Chamberlin of the mean rate of new soil formation as being about one inch in a thousand years. Further significant facts of this nature will be found in **The Rape of the Earth** by Jacks and Whyte.

Now when it is remembered that pressure of populations on "living-space" (at rock-bottom a question of the ratio of human fertility to soil fertility) is fundamental to the causes of war and peace, the threat of world-famine, quite definitely potential in the foregoing tendencies, becomes of crucial concern to all lovers of peace. As things are going this formidable posibility cannot be comfortably consigned to the far-distant future. In fact, while the present generation wastes its time, energy and substance on fruitless hostilities, this vital issue confronts humanity with a biological, economic, and social constructive task of first importance and utmost urgency.

True it may be that here in Britain the problem of actual erosion is neither obvious nor pressing. Yet its prevalence elsewhere must of necessity give point to increasing vigilance as regards home agriculture and food supply. Neglectful and faulty methods of farming, price slumps, indebtedness of the farmers, over-industrialisation, urbanisation, and other influences have already gone far to deplete and impoverish much of the soil in this country.

This has been sharply stressed by Viscount Lymington, among others, in his book **Famine in England.** Not only has more soil been lost to cultivation since 1914 probably than in the whole previous history of the world, but it is generally admitted that fertility used up by forced production during the war of 1914-18 has not yet been restored. Now comes another period of forced wartime production to impose further strain on the soil.

*

IT is of supreme importance, therefore that wherever possible farming methods which conserve and increase natural fecundity and keep the soil in good heart should be intensively applied. This, as shown so convincingly by Dr. G. T. Wrench in his two books, **The Wheel of Health** and **The Restoration of the Peasantries,** and by Lord Northbourne in his **Look to the Land,** calls primarily for strict obedience to the Rule of Return.

All organic matter that has come from the soil should be returned to it again as humus, by a composting process which ensures that indispensible bacteria are continually replenished along with mineral and other properties. Thus only can the cyclic flow of life-carrying elements be kept healthily circulating through all living things. Thus only can the living soil itself, together with the plants, crops, livestock, and, ultimately, human beings fed and reared from that soil be assured of sound, whole nutrition.

Proven methods of composting are explained in detail by Sir Albert Howard in his **The Manufacture of Humus by the Indore Process, The Waste Products of Agriculture, Restoration and Maintenance of Fertility,** and **Agricultural Testament;** also by Dr. Ehrenfried Pfeiffer in **Bio-dynamic Farming and Gardening,** and by Mr. C. Alma Baker in **Peace with the Soil;** as well as other sources. Professor King, in his **Farmers of Forty Centuries,** further describes such methods as used by the Chinese.

Results of the neglect of such method were fully recognised by the Medical Testament of the Panel Committee of Cheshire, published just before the war, and were also demonstrated by Sir Robert McCarrison when he fed rats experimentally on diets similar to those of populations (including our own) reared on the produce of impoverished soils. These rats became, as Lord Northbourne puts it, so terribly like us. They developed many diseases, became bad tempered, neur-asthenisc, bit their attendants and began to eat each other. If we don't do the latter, our periodic outbursts of war and violence are the next worst thing!

DEEPER CONSIDERATIONS

Beyond these very cogent and practical considerations there are many others, questions of cultural and spiritual development of the highest order. Through over-urbanisation and industrialisation our rootless civilisation has become pathological and neurotic, pseudo-intellectual, ruthlessly machine-minded, flashy and shoddy. It has lost touch with the cleansing realities and living mysteries of nature. Not for nothing were the first religions fertility cults, out of whose rituals grew art and drama.

The history of food and farming, writes Lord Northbourne, is the true history of civilisation. Usury and rapacious farming made deserts that spelt the decline and fall of ancient Rome. Shall we do better? "The most important division of occupation, and the most important co-operation of powers in material production," writes Frederick List, "is that of agriculture and manufacture. Both depend mutually upon one another."

We must re-establish our roots in the soil. War or no war, this is fundamental to the flowering and fruition of any new order, of any civilisation and culture worthy of the name. With this vision to guide them, pacifist communities can make an essential contribution to creative peace and life-service by basing themselves on the land and by working, not only for soil-rooted self-support, but also toward a restored balance between agriculture and industry, town and country, in the national community as a whole.

So, by directly demonstrating that death cannot be overcome by his own weapons but only by cultivating quality and goodness in **life,** we may even become a humble but potent influence for the religious regeneration and spiritual renaissance of humanity.

How Can We Make These Ideas Work? is the title of an open letter from Dr. George Macleod (a former Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union) "to any group questing after the reality of community". Published by the Community Service Committee (Chancton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey), it is a reprint from **The Coracle for December 1940,** with an introductory note on the start of the Iona Community by its founder—the author of this pamphlet.

Good Heart

THE Community movement is, and must be, infinitely various. It is in the stage of manifold experiment, and is still awaiting the formation of a comprehensive philosophy. At the present moment the enthusiasm of its supporters and the scepticism of its critics are of such an order that it is not easy to reach a synthesis between them. Community movements, say the critics, aim to withdraw from the body politic; they "contract out of society." It seems to us that this objection is difficult to sustain except on one of two assumptions: either that the pattern of existing society is so nearly perfect that any attempt to break away from it and create a new pattern is anti-social; or that the ever-increasing tendency towards centralized control is a good tendency, and the citizen's duty is to co-operate with it.

Neither of these assumptions is valid. For the first, few would deny that the existing pattern of society makes inherently for war, and in that respect at least is the opposite of perfection; for the second, it is surely a rash optimism which supposes that centralized control is wholly good, and a short-sighted judgment which concludes that the community movement is opposed to what is good in that tendency. In general, the community movement is inspired not by the purpose of resisting central control as such, but of resisting it where it threatens to diminish still further the vitality of an already enfeebled social body.

The community aims at contributing its full quota to the productivity of the nation; but it insists on contributing it on terms and by methods which do not impoverish the human personality. If those fundamental and overriding considerations demand a certain quantitative loss of purely material "output," that loss must be accepted. But the community restores the balance of social justice in this regard by diminishing its own demand upon the product. It makes up by the discipline of frugality for the human conditions on which it insists. Thereby it strives to set in motion a counter-process to the soulless process of exhaustion for the sake of immediate productivity which the spurious necessities of war demand. Its aim is to maintain in the midst of a centralization, spendthrift alike of material and spiritual resources, man and the land in "good heart"—for both will be needed.

KENNETH GREENYER presents

The Dilemma of a Capitalist

I call myself a capitalist not because I am the controller of a large fortune (I'm not) but because I have the mind of a capitalist and run the errands of a capitalist organization.

Yet adherence to the Peace Pledge Union having opened my mind to the responsibility of capitalist enterprise for modern warfare, I am in earnest to take some positive step that will not only help in the struggle to supersede capitalism, but which through practical experience will give me an outlook that sees the business of life—growing, making, selling, buying—not as a means to exclusive possessions, but for the adornment, enrichment, and happiness of dispossessed humanity.

One step which I have already tried to take is by example to convert the method of business of my employers to my own way of thinking. That is, instead of making the greatest profit at every turn, to work in the spirit of service to customers.

But I have here met with an unexpected difficulty, for although I theoretically regard the foregoing as quite legitimate, the very conscience which prompts me to act in this manner also seems to say that I ought in fairness to my employers to make profits to the best of my ability. After all, that is what I'm paid to do!

Hence my rather staggering conclusion that before I condemn the capitalist for his anti-social operations, I must prove by my own effort and with my own little capital that it is possible to conduct a business according to the generous mind.

Although I realize that ultimately the problem is properly one for society to solve and cannot be finally solved apart from the action of society as a whole, I cannot wait for society. Rather, I sometimes experience a sickening feling that it is society which is waiting for people with a discontent like mine.

So my problem is this: **to become the owner of a unit of production and produce for the use of society in a capitalist world.**

I have noticed that selling for profit may make a man the merchant of strange wares. Anything that can be made the object of popular fancy is permissible: gadgets, trinkets, vanities. If, however, I look round for commodities for my purpose, I see little scope in lipsticks, or even broom-sticks.

I am unswervingly drawn toward the basic needs of mankind—food and clothing. In fact, the more I think about it the more I feel the need to grapple with this problem right on the doorstep of nature, the land, the mother of nearly all the wants that the body is prey to.

* * *

It is at this point that my friend from the rural community beckons so luringly. "Join us," he says. "We are trying to make ourselves self-supporting. In our sharing we have solved the problem of production for use."

"Wait," I reply. "Remember that you are doing this as a service to war-ridden humanity. It is little to their comfort that you go and make yourselves immune from the stresses of

(Continued on page ii)

The Dilemma of a Capitalist

(Continued from page 1)

profit-making. Your service lies in waging the conflict of the generous mind on their behalf."

Although I admire the spirit of community, I become doubtful when communities speak anxiously of the need to become self-supporting, because it savours too much of running away from life. Surely it is a duty that they should not only have a surplus of particularly useful goods, but should show by their method of disposing of it how they consider that the world's distribution of goods should be done. They may not be able to do this in the letter, but the method will illustrate their spirit.

Let us suppose, then, that I become the owner of a means of production—a holding upon which I grow crops, etc. How shall I dispose of my surplus? If I produce for use I must obviously consider the needs of people, not just the motives behind their willingness to give in exchange, for often there is dire need without the ability to give in exchange.

So I would like as a start to offer my surplus commodities on the suggestion that the recipient should give what he could in return, and that if he could afford nothing, I would allow him to take what he needed without any charge.

RETURN FOR KINDNESS

Would this mean that I should find myself denuded of every means of obtaining things which I could not produce?

I have a shrewd idea that it would work out all right, although often advantage would be taken of my naivete. I would never expect to get rich by this means. I find most people extremely anxious to make return to anyone who has helped or shown kindness to them, and this is just the spirit that I should be out to encourage, not for my own benefit, but for humanity.

What, then, shall I do? Become a member of a market-gardening community trying to work out the practice of Christian living, and solve by such a method the problem of production for use? I think it's a good idea.

The Bruderhof in Paraguay

SOME 70 people were still at the Cotswold Bruderhof in March, while in Paraguay there were about 260 adults and children. News of the arrival of some of these in their new land tells of the trials of the journey by sea, river steamer, barge, train (taking 11 hours to go less than 100 miles!), and the light waggons of several young Mennonite farmers who met them and took them on the last stage of their journey.

"Early in the morning of January 2 we found ourselves in Filadelfia, the chief village in the Mennonite colony, and just two days later the birth took place of the first baby to be born to our little group here in Paraguay. Now, at the time of writing, four babies have come to us . . . and we are deeply thankful that all are so well and healthy. We have now been five weeks in Paraguay and we have been brought right at the outset face to face with our greatest physical enemies. These are (1) heat; (2) insects; (3) sickness. One super difficulty that we have yet to overcome is that transport is so bad, and functions, when it functions at all, so weakly here in the heart of South America, that all news, information, and correspondence reaches us only after long delay.

"In spite of all the hardships and difficulties, however — and especially the sickness which has begun such a subtle and insidious attack—it has become absolutely clear to us that God wills to unite us all in this land, that we, together with all others who feel called to join us may carry on, at all costs, an uncompromising witness for real peace, brotherly love, and economic and social justice. In the meantime we can report with joy that not only our medical work but our witness for full community have been received with thankfulness by many people here. We have found many open hearts and enthusiastic seeking for a new way of life. The first Paraguayan friends are already joining.

"Now we can report to you that we have bought in East Paraguay a new estate, "Primavera", of some 20,000 acres. It lies about 30 miles to the east of the river Paraguay, where it is much healthier, cooler, and more beautiful. One-third is jungle, with gigantic cedars, lepacho, and other hardwoods, the trunks of some of them as much as three feet thick. Scattered throughout the wood are great patches of bitter and sweet orange trees, so that from next month we shall have enough fruit for the whole community, merely for the picking, and where we have sown nothing."

Reporting Progress . . . .

REPORTS received from various community groups and similar organizations, news of recent activities, and plans for the future are summarized below. We should be glad to receive such accounts from time to time—as regularly as possible, in fact—for publication in the Community Supplement, and these should be sent to the Editor, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

THE ALBERY GROUP

The High House, Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye

Three guests have asked to be considered as probationary members and some friends of the group are living in cottages in the neighbourhood. Woollen craft has kept some members busy; gloves are supplied to firms in Ross and woven scarves to shops in Cheltenham and Wantage; both are sold also to local purchasers. Wool supplies are now presenting difficulties. Ground is dug and ploughed for sowing; hens are reduced to 29 good layers giving 15-22 eggs daily; 6 Rhode Island Reds are housed for breeding and 4 ducks average 3 eggs a day. Goats are due to kid, and a calf may be purchased. Bees are the latest venture.

Cookery demonstrations given by a specialist member are popular with the village. So are WEA evening classes in the chapter room—lectures by a local Quaker on changing social and economic conditions following the Industrial Revolution: "20 turned up from Bromsash, The Lea and Pontshill last Wednesday; there is usually a good gossip afterwards."

A year of community has taught the group a lot, "but still we feel that we must find a deeper reason for it than that of material convenience; we hope that this second year will bring us nearer in our search."

RICHMOND GROUP

After spending some months as guests of the Albery community, this group has moved into a small cottage with 6 acres of land at Yatton, several miles from Bromsash.

THE BARN HOUSE

Brockweir, near Chepstow (Margaret Hughes)

"We are settling down to a more steady practice of community living and realising almost daily where our direction lies. It would be interesting to hear more of other communities. New localised group conferences might be arranged in certain areas. We are facing our second year of community life and hoping that our experiences will be of very great help and that we shall be able to enlarge our activities and contacts."

ELMSETT COMMUNITY

Elmsett, near Ipswich, Suffolk (Bert Shipley)

The third spring news-letter is full of encouragement. For their 41 acres the group has been able to provide their own implements—a small tractor with plough, seed drill, roller, and tool bar. The engine which drives the flour mill now runs a saw bench and assists provision of fuel. Figures for the year's harvest are: 34 coombe of wheat, 32 of barley, 45½ tons of sugar beet, and 9 tons of potatoes. Of the remaining acres, 16 have been ploughed up and 2 are being developed for vegetables: the rest is pasture and orchard. Stock includes 35 head of poultry and 10 goats, for which a new house is being built. An experimental study of composting has been made and a leaflet is in preparation setting out the results. The group is concentrating on "the ideal of making ourselves as self-supporting as possible on a production for use basis; if we achieve this, it may make a large contribution to post-war society, for we are able to keep 14 on the same amount as would be paid in wages to three agricultural workers at the present rate."

The winter study programme has been a full one, including appreciation of art, Indian philosophy, local government, Esperanto, play-reading and gramophone recitals. A PSU group has been formed for emergency service, with a course of First Aid, and fire-watching has assisted the group in making common cause with the village. "We look upon our life here as a preparation and an experiment—a preparation to serve mankind to the best of our abilities, and an experiment inasmuch as all the problems of the outer community are present with us and challenge our solution. We test them in miniature . . ."

LLANISHEN HOUSE COMMUNITY

Llanishen, Cardiff (Dorothy Miller)

This is an FOR community which finally took shape with eight members in the autumn of last year. Most of the members are employed outside the group and incomes are pooled, two members working on 8 acres of land attached to the community. There are 30 fruit trees, 45 chickens producing an average of 15 dozen eggs weekly and a beehive. Produce and hospitality are both available for those in need—produce has been provided for local hospitals and accommodation offered to homeless dock workers.

"By community we do not necessarily imply the foundation of a lot of institutions called 'communities" . . . rather do we mean a revolution in the spirit of living that will transform corporate life."

MYDDLE PARK LAND SETTLEMENT

Myddle, Shrops. J. C. Hanner (hon. sec.), 51, Roft St., Oswestry, Shrops.

35 acres of rough land (to be made over to a trust) is being cleared under a scheme started in August of last year by representatives of Levenshulme, Oswestry and Shrewsbury PPU groups. A well was bored, a lorry installed, and advice sought from experts of Manchester and Aberystwith Universities and of the Harper Adams Agricultural College. Work has been carried on from two small huts, now to be supplemented by a 5-room sectional bungalow. By the end of 1940 six men were at work clearing the scrub, digging out old tree roots, and making up the lane approaching the site. Each man receives a weekly allowance of 21s. 3d. to cover board, clothing, and incidentals, this sum being provided where possible by the group to which the man belongs.

"While it is true that the scheme was devised in the first place to meet the needs of those COs who were victimised on account of their views, it is not being regarded merely as a 'stop-gap' to provide them with alternative employment for the duration of the war: least of all by the men themselves . . . It is hoped at the same time to explore the practical possibilities of a better ordering of society in accordance with the avowed principles of constructive pacifism. No small part of this task lies in the field of human relationships. . . valuable experience is being gained in the technique of purposeful living and co-operative endeavour."

STONE BOWER FELLOWSHIP

Burton Lonsdale, via Carnforth, Lancs. (Fred Hellowell)

Stone Bower is an 18-room house with ½ acre of vegetable garden taken by a few friends of the Morecambe and Lancaster peace groups. It has been equipped by friends and a guarantee fund raised to cover essential expenditure for twelve months. Regular contributions are made by Morecambe, Lancaster and Bentham groups.

The house is intended as a rest centre for those suffering severe raid strain, and arrangements have been made to take in old people and other victims from London, Manchester, and Sheffield areas. In all 21 can be fed and housed, and service is given by COs working with a house mother. The basis of life is communal and motivated by daily worship at 8.15 a.m. Stone Bower believes in "the inherent goodness of the average man" and hopes by service freely given to build a city of peace in the wastes of war.

W.R.I. COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT

Lower Ford End Farm, Clavering, near Newport, Essex (H. E. Hunt)

This is a mixed farm of 50 acres, 10 pasture and 40 arable, some of which is to be turned over to market gardening. Much work has been done in hedging and ditching and structural repairs. Stock includes 2 milk cows, 2 in-calf heifers 6 younger heifers, 2 calves, 10 ducks, 300 head of poultry, and an old horse on loan. A weekly subsistence allowance of 10s. and 5s. pocket allowance is allowed to each worker. The present personnel is five men and two women. "We have met nothing but kindness and helpfulness from the neighbouring farmers.

THE GRANGE CENTRE

Wythall, Birmingham

The foundation of this community, which aims to make Christian ideals not only a way of life but of workmanship, is agriculture: 10 acres are being developed for market gardening and 36 acres rented for cultivation. Cows, pigs, goats, and poultry are stocked. Some evacuees from London are being sheltered.

Community Theatre

By RICHARD WARD

COMMUNITY theatre means a theatre made by the small group of devoted persons for the entertainment and enlightenment of the larger society; it means theatrical activity rooted in "community," having the values and behaviour of a co-operative social order and expressing them, through its plays, its acting, and its methods of presentation, in the old non-co-operative social order now suffering death by war.

That, at least, will be the basis on which **The Adelphi Players**, whose headquarters will be the Adelphi Centre, Langham, Colchester, will start work at the beginning of May. They will be a company of professional players having "the amateur's passion" for their job. They will all earn the same salary (and a mighty small one it will be), and any profits will be equally divided among them or, more probably, used for future productions.

They will play anywhere—in schools, churches, village halls, camps, private houses, gardens, settlements, air-raid shelters—for anyone who wants them, using the minimum of scenery and lighting and getting their effects by good acting and costume. They will do plays which, whether new or old, have something to say to men and women of this day and age. For the most part they will operate in Greater London; they will give there as much of their time as they can possibly afford to performances in air-raid shelters and rest-centres.

The commercial theatre as we have known it has, largely speaking, been bombed out of existence; that may or may not be a great tragedy. But it would be a great tragedy if the thatre itself which is a great force for the deliverance from bondage of the human spirit, ceased altogether to exist because there is a war on. **The Adelphi Players** believe that it need not cease to exist; indeed, they believe that the present situation is one in which it may well discover a new life. It is in this belief that they set to work.

The Adelphi Players need your help, and they need it, in particular, in the following forms:—

1. **Money.**
2. **Goods** (e.g., theatrical costume of any kind; materials, of whatever sort or shape, from which costumes, etc., can be made; hangings suitable for stage decorations; lighting plant; carpenters' tools; wood, canvas, or hessian; a good gramophone).
3. **Office Equipment** (e.g. typewriter, files, etc.).
4. **Engagements** (and the names and addresses of persons or institutions who might give them engagements).

The players will be glad to have the names, addresses, and general qualifications of anyone wishing to join in their work. All communications should be addressed to me or to **The Secretary, The Adelphi Players, The Oaks, Langham, Colchester, Essex** (Telephone: Boxted 200).

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